Mr. E. Ikkanda Warrier *(Cheruthuruthi):* As if I don't know yours!

Mr. M.K. Devassy *(Adur):* Sir, I only want to place two sentences before the House. They are not dangerous sentences and I cannot understand the nervousness of some hon'ble members.

Sir, the Progressive Party has been all along opposing the Town Council Measure and it is so well known that it requires no reiteration whatsoever. Since the effect of this resolution will be to relieve those areas now constituted as Town Councils from the mischief of that unhappy measure, in our opinion we lend our wholehearted support to the resolution.

Mr. T. S. Ramachandra Ayyar *(Chittur-Tattamangalam):* On a point of information, Sir, may I know, as the Bill is sought to be kept in abeyance, whether the Town Council establishment and all the connected paraphernalia will be maintained or the *status quo ante* will be restored?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* That will be considered without giving the least trouble to the people and giving the maximum benefit.

Mr. President: The existing Town Councils will be suspended.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* As far as possible the local population will not be put into trouble.

Resolution put and carried unanimously

The House rose for lunch at 1 p. m. and re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. with M. R. Ry. K. Ayyappan Avl., Deputy President, in the Chair.

RESOLUTION No. 9—*(cont.)*

Effective recognition to the principle of communal justice in appointments above the purview of the Staff Selection Board

Mr V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Sir, yesterday I said that there is no principle underlying this resolution because the only principle is that offices should be distributed according to the number of births in each community. Secondly, I said that the only underlying point is suspicion. Suspicion of one another. The Christian suspects the Nayar and the Nayar suspects the Christian—the Christian feeling that the Nayar will not mete out justice to him and *vice versa*. If it is only suspicion we should do every thing to see that such suspicion is removed and not pander to that feeling of suspicion. I said there is absolutely no reason for such suspicion in the existing state of affairs. Our officers are not favouring their own

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communities at all. There is absolutely no reason for such suspicion. The third point is will this allay that suspicion? We would take for granted that a Nayar officer will do justice only to a Nayar. Will this allay suspicion? There will be Nayar officers, there will be Christian officers, there will be Muslim officers. If Nayar officers mete out justice only to Nayars and if Christian officers will do justice only to Christians and if Muslim officers will do justice only to Muslims, we must have a sort of Pakistan.

I pass on to the fourth point. What is the ridiculous and pernicious position reached? If there are a greater number of members in a particular community, that community will get more jobs. Therefore the getting of jobs depends on the child-bearing capacity of our women. Then there will be a child-bearing competition. I am taking the argument to the very end. Don't find fault with me, find fault with the proposition. You must ask your women to deliver more children because you want more jobs. I am stretching the proposition to the utmost. It don't know whether we should encourage a child-bearing competition. Mr. Devassy was saying that there will be no sort of communal rivalry. I say the rivalry will only increase—rivalry in child-bearing and rivalry in conversion. There will be a calamitous state of affairs in the Cochin State.

The fifth point is that it is utterly unworkable in practice. When I said that this is utterly unworkable down fell that glass. It is a bad omen *(Laughter)*. The whole community will break like that glass. The whole of Cochin will break like that glass. The principle is utterly unworkable in practice, because if an individual goes to the recruiting authority or the Diwan, the Diwan would immediately ask, how many individuals he has in his community. Suppose, the fraction for a Brahmin comes to 1/7th then when Mr. Ramachandra Ayyar's son applies for a job, he will be entitled only to 1/7th. How to give 1/7th of a job!

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar *(Nellayi)*: He will never apply for a job.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters)*: Then there are single posts like that of the Chief Medical Officer and the Diwan Peishkar. You cannot possibly divide the Chief Medical Officer's job among all the communities. It is impossible. If Mr. Tharian Verghese is continuing there for 15 years that will be a plea for saying that an "Other Christian"—I don't understand the expression—has been there for fifteen years and that the other communites should be there for 150 years. Then take, for example, communities like the Jews. They are 1,500 in number. They will get now 1/100th of a job. How

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to give you 1/100th? If there was a Jew once as the Diwan Peishkar, the next Jew, however eminent, will have to wait for 99 other chances to pass by and if the average life of a Diwan Peishkar is 10 years he will have to wait for 990 years. Then take the case of the Chetty community, take the case of Europeans. Therefore, I say it is absolutely unworkable in practice. It will lead to more and more troubles. The ration will be varying every now and then. Suppose tomorrow 10,000 Christian women deliver two children each. The ratio of the population varies. So tomorrow you have to vary the ratio. Instead of 1/50 you will have to say 1/62½. Then what about the individual? What about those in service already? If you divide the jobs according to population you will find that a number of people already there will have to be chucked out. Are they to be sent out altogether? Is it possible? Take the case of small communities. Mr. C. R. Iyyunni referred to my community. My community is that of humanity. *(Hear, hear).*

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* We are not.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Then you are not human. Something else. I only say that I speak for the individual. Justice is between man and man and not between community and community. I say, do justice to the individual. If you get a brilliant F. R. C. S. (England) and he comes and applies for a job, don't ask how many women have delivered in his community. Without elaborating the other points I shall simply mention them as there is no time. If this is accepted, is it not possible for certain communities to ask for retrospective application of the principle? Should you not apply this to other professions and other walks in life, say, for example, banking, medical practice, coffee shops and vocations and professions like that? Is it possible to say there should be so many Nayar vakils, so many Ezhuva vakils and so many Christian vakils? Then considerations of income from each communiy will have to be taken into consideration. Considerations of intelligence, educational attainments and so on. Then what about the officers already there? Then what about the services to be rendered by officials? Take the case of a doctor. Doctor Tharian will have to operate upon a Nayar, then upon an Ezhuva, then upon a Christian, according to the ratio of the community. Do you accept that position?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Is it relevant?

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Absolutely.

Sir, I submit this is against the interests of the State. The State wants the best men for the services. Suppose you want a

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Chief Medical Officer. Will the number of people in his community help the C.M.O. in his operations? There is the Chief Justice. Will the number of people in his community help the Chief Justice in meting out justice between man and man? I cannot see eye to eye with this resolution and I have to oppose it.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Sir, since the Hon'ble Member for Planters has denied the fact that he is a Jacobite and belongs to the community of humanity I do not think any member of this Council will abuse or rather take the fact to have proceeded from a member of the Jacobite community. But I can only say that Mr. Mathai till now has been thought of by me as belonging to a minor community, Jacobite community. I am not returned from a communal constituency and so I wish to bring out my opinion on the point, since I am always suspected by certain members of this House to be against communal representation. I have not expressed a word against communal representation, at the same time I have always been an advocate on territorial representation and even now I am. But I have explicitly expressed that territorial representation should be conceded only without affecting communal ratio. At least in the case of smaller appointments it will be possible. I have tabled a resolution that at least appointments on Rs. 25 may be distributed according to taluk-war basis. The majority communities like Nairs, Ezhuvas and Romosyrians may be given appointments according to taluk-war basis. In any case I should certainly think that the idea behind the resolution is commendable in many ways than one.

At the outset I would like to strike a note of warning that any fantastic notion about equal opportunities for all based or individual merit is certain to degenerate in practice, unless statutory safeguards are provided.

It is too late in the day to impress this House to set back the hands of the clock. For a community to be prolific is no sin especially in these days of war when every normal human activity requires more numbers and particularly now for the defence of the country. The Bible is eloquent on this point. The priest who blessed the marriages of mine and that of my hon'ble friend for Planters will not have certainly omitted this injunction in the Bible that "go forth and multiply".

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: പള്ളിയിൽ വെച്ചു കത്തനാർ പറഞ്ഞ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ "നിങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ വേർപിരിയരുതു" എന്നു കൂടി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലേ?

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി ഇയ്യു: അതും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

So long as a community produces more members, their strength ought to be tacitly recognized by the State. The Member for Planters, when he moved the condolence motion of the late Mr.

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M. A. Chacko, on Monday, said that he has left "more than footprints on the sands of time". There is nobody in this House who moved with Mr. Chacko more intimately than I. If at all I tolerate communal representation, it is because I follw his "footprints". I would invite the Hon'ble Member for Planters to peruse the old Council reports and find out the late Mr. Chacko's utterances advocating communal representation. My predecessor Mr. K. T.Mathew who had a most distinguished career in this House, also had followed the footprints of Mr. Chacko in this view.

All the political parties in this House, one way or other, have accepted this principle. All the Governments in India have adopted this in practice. Even the South Indian Railway has accepted this principle in recruitment. The Congress Government of Madras had recognised this principle. The Government of His Highness the Ex-Maharaja had first initiated this principle in our State, and Mr. Ayyakutty, an unapproachable was taken into the Huzur Secretariat. So long as human nature is constituted as it is, there will be nepotism, communal alignments and cliques, if unchecked by statutory restraints. In the transition stage, however, communal representation should be regarded as a necessary evil though we aim at a political millennium, with no trace of communal bias ultimately. When full responsible government comes and when the majority communities in the State, Nairs, Roman Catholics and Ezhuvas, join hands, unless there is the safeguard for representation of minorities such as, Jacobites and Brahmins, both in representative bodies and public services, a day may come when we will witness something akin to the fate of German Jews, if the policy of the Member for Planters is adopted.

The late Mr. M. A. Chacko had this vision in his mind and even 4 days before his passing away, when we met for the last time, we talked about the activities of the Christian Central Committee and if he had hinted about my leaving from that body, I would have certainly obeyed it. Those who differed with the late Mr. M. A. Chacko in his public career will cry with one voice that he stood for communal representation Mr. Poulose is only the other member in this Council belonging to my community who is also not against communal representation.

There are only two ways of recruiting in Service—one as I said by competitive examination, the other on principle of communal representation. Even in the matter of competitive examination, the Government elsewhere have reserved seats for unrepresented communities minorities and backward classes.

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The evil against which Mr. Mathai is fighting is not actual communal representation; but the sub-communal division of Christians adopted by the Government. Mr. Mathai is not so unmindful of the Jacobite community to which, according to him, he once belonged. If the division of communities in the G. O. constituting the Staff Selection Board had been like that in British India taking "Indian-Christian, Anglo-Indian, European and all other non-Asiatics" as one unit, the views of Mr. Mathai would have been different. I advised the unemployed youth of Jacobites in my Taluk to join the fighting services and I had experience of a good response in my place from my younger brothren in the service of Empire.

The other day I had a talk with a leading Namboodiri gentleman who holds a high position in the State. He tells me that Rs. 64 is the highest pay an officer of his community gets now in the State service. This minority wants safe-guards and representation in higher services in the State. Their population is 5,918. The feverishness of the Government and some of the members in this House for communal justice has left out the principle of territorial representation. I may say that I have been always harping upon this. All the big and small posts have been secured by members of Cochin-Kanayannur and Trichur Taluks. I have tabled a resolution, Resolution No. 98 that at least the majority communities such as Ezhuvas, Romo Syrians and Nairs get this representation. If Nairs are over represented, it is not because many are recruited from my Taluk or Chittur Taluk. I may add that there are only two Nairs from Chittur who draw Rs. 200 per mensem. There is only one officer from Talappalli who draws Rs. 500 and no officer of any community from my Taluk or Chittur Taluk is drawing a salary of more than Rs. 250 in the State except the one referred to above. The Nairs of Chittur and Talappalli together will come to about 60% of the whole Nayar population. The Tamil X'ians of Chittur Taluk are not given their due share on population basis. The Romo Syrians, Nayars and Ezhuvas of Talappalli are not given their due share. If there are suitable qualified candidates, why not the Government follow the policy of giving Taluk-war repesentation if communal principle is not affected? I appeal to this House that they should co-operate with me to support the territorial representation to do justice to all.

*മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ പിന്താങ്ങുന്നു. ഈ വിഷയം ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ പലപ്രാവശ്യവും ആലോചനക്കു വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതും പലപ്രാവശ്യവും ഈ നിയമസഭ വലിയ ഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തോടുകൂടി പാസാക്കിട്ടുള്ളതുമാണു്.

* Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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മിസ്റ്റർ വി. ജെ. മത്തായി: അതിവിടെ തള്ളിപ്പോയിട്ടുണ്ട്.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: അതിവിടെ വലിയ ഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തോടുകൂടി പാസാക്കീട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്ന മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നതിനു ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട തോട്ടക്കാരുടെ മെമ്പറെ ഇവിടത്തെ പഴയ പ്രൊസീഡിംഗ്സിലേക്കു ക്ഷണിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അമിതപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം വഹിക്കുന്ന തോട്ടക്കാരുടെ മെമ്പർ എതിർത്തുകാണുന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടുന്നതിനുപുറമെ അതിശയിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. ഒരു വലിയ ജാതിമതവ്യത്യാസത്തെ ഉച്ചാടനംചെയ്യ സഹോദര്യം പുലർത്തുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുന്ന മിസ്റ്റർ മത്തായിക്കു ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർക്കാതെയിരിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. സ്വന്തം കുടുംബത്തോടും ഭാര്യയോടും, കുട്ടികളോടും എന്നുവേണ്ട സ്വന്തം സമുദായത്തോടും സ്നേഹമുള്ള ആളുകൾക്കു മാത്രമെ ഇതിനെ അനുകൂലിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളു.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters)*: I rise to a point of order. I don't like my wife and my children to be dragged into the discussion here.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: ഞാൻ സമുദായമുള്ള ആളെപ്പറ്റി മാത്രമെ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളു.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. ജെ. മത്തായി: അതു് എനിക്കും അറിയാം; കൌൺസിലിൽ ആയതുകൊണ്ടു് പറയാതെയിരിക്കുന്നതാണു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു സർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യക്കുറവു അനുഭവിച്ചുവന്നിരുന്ന സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു ഇപ്പോൾ നൂറിൽ താഴെ ശമ്പളമുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ സ്റ്റാഫ്സിലക്ഷൻ ബോർഡ് വന്നതുനിമിത്തം അതിന്റെ ഗുണം അനുഭവിക്കുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടാണു് നൂറു രൂപായിൽ മേലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കും സ്റ്റാഫ്സിലക്ഷൻ ബോർഡിന്റെ റൂൾസ്സു് ബാധകമാക്കണമെന്ന പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ, അതായതു ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം ഇപ്പോൾ തന്നില്ലെങ്കിലും, അതു് ഓരോ പടി പടിയായി ആവശ്യപ്പെടാമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ ഓരോ പടി പടിയായിട്ടു ആവശ്യപ്പെടുകയാണു ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. നൂറു രൂപയ്ക്കു താഴെയുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളുടെ ഗുണം ഞങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിച്ചുവരുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു നൂറു രൂപായ്ക്കു മേലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കും ഈ നിയമം ബാധകമാക്കിയാൽമാത്രമെ, അവശ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും, ന്യൂനപക്ഷ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും അതിന്റെ ഗുണം അനുഭവിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളു. അതിനുള്ള ഈ റസല്യൂഷനെ കോമൺസെൻസ്സ് പാർട്ടിയിൽപെട്ട ഒരാൾ (ഒരു സമുദായത്തിലുംപെടാത്ത ഒരാൾ) സമുദായങ്ങളുള്ള ആളുകളുടെ അവകാശവാദത്തെ എതുക്കുന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ വ്യസനിക്കുകയും, മേലാൽ ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള സംഗതികളിൽ ഒരു സമുദായവും നോക്കാതെ സഹോദര്യം പുലർത്തുവാൻ ശ്രമിയ്ക്കുന്ന അദ്ദേഹം സമുദായങ്ങളും, ജാതിമതവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളുമെല്ലാമുള്ള ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഈവക കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ തലയിടരുതെന്നു അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ വിരമിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi)*: Sir, I rise to speak a few words on the resolution. After listening to my esteemed friend's (Mr. Mathai's) speech yesterday and today, I think some points have

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to be cleared. He is honest, and nobody questions Mr. Mathai's opinions. Coming to the long speech delivered by my friend I agree with one point. Mr. Devassy read some statistics. In the Christian community here there are two members on the Treasury benches—the Joint Secretary and the Chief Medical Officer. They won't give me a pie from their pay. They take it for their own purpose. But, Sir, my idea of communal representation is that every community must have share in the public administration of the State. We cannot weigh in a golden balance jobs according to the number of the population of each community. What we want is a fair distribution of appointments in Government service.

From the statement read by my friend Mr. Devassy, it is clear that several communities are not given adequate representation in the services. I do not want to repeat that long statement. The objection raised by Mr. Mathai is that there must be efficient and honest public service. I also agree. Is efficiency and honesty the monopoly of certain communities? All efficient and honest persons should be given representation. All efficient men in every community should be given an opportunity. According to the fantastic calculation, if a Jew is appointed in a higher grade the members of his community will have to wait for many years till all the communities are satisfied by giving them the same job. I say that Government should make a proper distribution when giving appointments.

Then going to the resolution I would wish to make one observation. The Resolution is: "This Council recommends to the Government to give a more effective recognition to the principle of communal justice in appointments above the purview of the Staff Selection Board". Now the resolution as worded I have to oppose, because it wants only justice in appointments not made by the Board. From the very statistics it is clear that we are not getting communal justice. I say that it is not adequate. The resolution as it is printed cannot be supported and I oppose the resolution.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I meant only this. Government have accepted the principle of communal justice. My only case is that principle so accepted has not been acted upon. It should be more effectively brought into operation.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* I say there is no effective recognition. If you say 'more effective' I am not going to concede it. Therefore, though I may entirely agree with Mr. Devassy, on a technical point I cannot agree with the resolution.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Mr. President, Sir, this is a vexed question: communal representation either in

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service or in legislature and it has long been a matter of controversy. Since the Chair has limited the time I do not go into the merits of that question except saying that I find certain preposterous remarks made by an Hon'ble Member for Planters relating to the principle of communal justice. It is assumed by him that if communal justice is given effect to, the officers that would be appointed on that principle will necessarily be partial to the particular community from which they come. It is also assumed that communal justice implies that the salary these officers draw must be given to the members of the community, and if such a thing is not done the principle of communal justice is meaningless. But, Sir, it is a matter of common knowledge that that nobody using the expression "communal justice," no man of common sense believes that communal justice implies any such assumption or absurd presumption. If an officer is appointed from a particular community, it is a matter of pride for that community, at least, for the intelligent part of that community. That is clear. No member of that community expects such an officer to share his salary with the members of the community. I am surprised to find expressions of such preposterous assumptions. Then, again, the fantastic notion of my hon'ble friend, the member for Planters, is that if communal representation is given there will be competition for child-bearing. Sir, the principle of communal representation has been recognised and accepted in the whole of India, and I challenge the member to show such a competition in any part of India in this matter. Sir, then he alludes to the danger of a competition in religious conversions. I challenge that member to say that because the principle of communal justice has been adopted in several parts of India there has been a campaign for religious conversions there in order to increase the members of each community. Then again it has been said that any scheme based on communal justice is unworkable. I ask the member whether the scheme has not been working for several years in our own State and whether it has been found unworkable ? On the other hand, has it not been found to be a workable scheme ? Has it not been found to be conducive to efficiency ? Has it not been found to be conducive to the satisfaction and contentment of all sections of His Highness' subjects ? Fantastic fears have been conjured up by the imagination of the Hon'ble Member for Planters. I am sorry that such absurd and puerile ideas should have been introduced into a debate on the floor of this House.

Sir, my time is limited. I have only to reiterate the position that there is still a lack of adequate communal justice in the services and so far as the resolution is concerned in its higher grades. I am not going to survey the whole field. But let me point out a

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very glaring instance of it in support of my position. I come from the Latin Christian community which according to the census have 1,35,000 souls. Even this figure is not probably correct, as the previous Census Commissioner had himself pointed out, and we are well-nigh a lakh and half souls. I have taken the instance of this community because this is one of the most glaring instances of want of communal justice, and not particularly because I am hailing from that community. We form 1/3rd of the total Christian population. It is found that nearly 200 posts of Rs. 40 and above are held by Christians at present. Out of these 200 posts we get 13 posts. We who form 1/3rd of the Christian population get 13 out of 200! (*Shame*). Again, Sir, after long long waiting, we got an officer in the judicial service—a single solitary officer. Unfortunately that officer for reasons of ill health had to take long leave. We made representations to the Government that, after all that was the solitary instance of a member of our community who was in the judicial service. But our cry was a cry in the wilderness and even for that vacancy, it was not a Latin Christian who has been taken. Again, one more instance and I conclude. The Commissioner of Income-tax is a man from our community. The Income-tax Department brings 8 to 9 lakshs of rupees to the coffers of the State and probably it will bring nearly 10 lakhs in the near future. Such Department is kept still as a minor department and the Commissioner whose pay is Rs. 250—300 is on a par with a Munsiff in salary and status. Sir, hon'ble members are aware that an ordinary Income-tax officer in British India is on a higher grade than that of a Sub-Judge. We cannot think of the pay of the Commissioner of Income-tax or the Deputy Commissioner in British India. In the sister State of Travancore the Deputy Commissioner is equal to or a little above a District Judge. Is it not time that a Department like that of the Income-tax be converted into a major Department. It is growing in importance and it is bringing more revenue than some of the important Departments of the State. What about your Forest Department? The Forest Department brings in five lakhs. The Income-tax Department brings in 10 lakhs. But the Forest Department has grown like a forest and the Head of that Department is paid Rs. 450—600.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar *(Nellayi):* Will you be satisfied if the present Commissioner is transferred to some other department which fetches a lesser income?

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* That is beside the point. That question constrains me to say openly—I am extremely sorry to make the remark--that if the Head of the Income-Tax Department were a caste-Hindu, the department would have been bloated up into a major depart-ment long ago

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and the Head of the Department placed on a par with the senior heads of departments *(Hear, hear)*. This is the main glaring instance I have selected just to show the lack of communal justice in our Services. There is no communal justice whatsoever, in the higher grades. It is not a question of "more effective realisation" of communal justice as worded in the resolution. It is realisation to some extent at least of communal justice. Will not these opponents of communal representation—these dreamers and ideelists—come down from the clouds to realities? We are really admirers of the ideal they seem to uphold. We are all members of humanity as much as my Hon'ble friend the Member for Planters. We belong to communities, we belong to families, we belong above these to a nation, and at last come your humanity. Because I am a member of humanity can you deny that I am a member of a family? Can you deny I am a menber of my community? The arguments advanced from the opposite side, therefore, lack realism and are baseless. My time is limited by the Chair, and I cannot continue further. Thank you, Sir.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. നാർ. ഇയ്യണ്ണി: സർ, സമുദായ രീതിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് എ തിരെങ്കിലും വാദപ്രതിവാദംവരുമ്പോൾ, സ്വന്തം സമുദായത്തെപ്പറ്റി പറയുന്നു ശരിയല്ലാ എന്നൊരുവാദം, ഗോൾഡ്സ്മിത്തിന്റെ പ്രസിദ്ധമായ ചില പ്രബന്ധങ്ങളിൽ കാണുന്ന തരത്തിലുള്ള "സിറിസൻ ഓഫ് വേൾഡ്" പറയുന്നു ഒരു സാധാരണ സംഭവമാണെന്ന് ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ല. അദ്ദേഹം ലോകം മുഴുവനും ചുറ്റി സഞ്ചരിക്കുന്ന ഒരാളാണ്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു പ്രത്യേകമായി ഒരു താമസസ്ഥലമില്ല. ഒരുപക്ഷേ, ഹിമാലയ പർവ്വതത്തിന്റെ മകളിൽ കയറിയിട്ടോ, നെല്ലിയാംപതി മലയുടെ മകളിൽ കയറിയിട്ടോ, അതിന്റെ ചുറ്റുപാടും നോക്കുമ്പോൾ അവിടെ നടക്കുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. അദ്ദേഹം ആ മലയുടെ മകളിൽനിന്നു നോക്കുമ്പോൾ മനുഷ്യരെ കാണുന്നതു് ചെറിയ ഉറുമ്പുകളെപ്പോലെയാണ്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരാൾക്കു മനുഷ്യരുടെ ദുരിതങ്ങളും, അവശതകളും വേണ്ടവിധം അറിയുവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ, എനിക്കു അതിൽ അത്ഭുതമില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു് ഒരു കുടുംബമില്ല; ഒരു സമുദായമില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അനുഭവം അതു വിപുലമായതാണ്. അദ്ദേഹം ലോകത്തിന്റെ ഒരു പൌരനാണ്. മറ്റൊന്നും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മേൽകിട്ടിൽ പോവുകയില്ല.

ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു സമുദായത്തിനു അതിന്റെ ജനസംഖ്യക്കൊ, സ്ഥിതിക്കൊ, വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനൊ, മറ്റു ചുറ്റുപാടുകൾക്കൊ, അധീനമായി എന്തെങ്കിലും ഒരു അവകാശമൊ അധികാരമൊ കിട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ, ആ അവകാശത്തെയൊ, അധികാരത്തെയൊ, മറ്റൊരുകൂട്ടർ—ആ അധികാരാവകാശം ഇല്ലാത്തകൂട്ടർ—വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കണമെന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ, ഒരു വൈമനസ്യം കാണുക മനുഷ്യ സഹജമായ ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്. അതിനു വാദവും തർക്കവും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടു കാര്യമില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഗവർമ്മെണ്ട് ഇൻഡ്യാരാജ്യം ഭരിക്കുന്നു. ഇൻഡ്യാ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ എല്ലാവരും സായ്പന്മാരാണ്. അവർക്ക് വലിയ

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ശമ്പളവും കിട്ടുന്നുണ്ട്. വലിയ പദവികളും പെരുമയുമുണ്ട്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ ഇൻഡ്യാക്കാർക്കും കിട്ടുന്നതിനു എപ്പോഴും ബഹളം കൂട്ടുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ ബഹളം കൂട്ടുന്നതിൽ "സിറിസൺ ഓഫ് വേൾഡി"നു യാതൊരു ബാല്യുതയുമില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വിശാല മനസ്ഥിതി ഈവക കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ എടുത്താൽ ശരിയാവുകയില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മനസ്ഥിതി യൂനിവേഴ്സൽ ആയിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മനസ്ഥിതിയെ ഈ വക കാര്യത്തിൽ താരതമ്യം ചെയ്താൽ ഒരിക്കലും ശരിയാവുകയില്ല. നമുക്കു് കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തെ കാര്യമെ നോക്കുവാനുള്ളു. ഇവിടെ ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു കൂടുതൽ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കിട്ടുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതു നായന്മാർക്കും, ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കുമാണു്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ നായന്മാരുടെ സ്ഥിതി നോക്കിയാൽ വളരെ പരിതാപകരമാണു്. സാധാരണ നായന്മാർക്കു ഇതിൽ ഗുണമില്ല. നല്ല ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കിട്ടുന്നതു് നായന്മാരിൽപെട്ട ഒരു പ്രത്യേക കൂട്ടർക്കാണു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ മത്തായിപറഞ്ഞു; കാര്യക്ഷമത നോക്കിവേണം ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കുവാൻ എന്നു്. എഫ്. ആർ. സി. എസ്സു്. പാസ്സായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരാൾക്കു് മെഡിക്കൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിൽ ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ ആക്ഷേപം വിരോധമില്ല. ഡോക്ടർ ശങ്കരാംബാൾ എഫ്. ആർ. സി. എസ്സു്. പാസ്സായി ഇവിടെ വന്നിട്ടു അവർക്കു ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടിയില്ല. അതു അവർക്കു കാര്യക്ഷമത ഇല്ലാഞ്ഞിട്ടാണൊ? കാര്യക്ഷമത ഉണ്ടൊ എന്നു നിശ്ചയിക്കുന്നതു് ആരാണു്? അതിനു ഒരു ആളുണ്ടായെന്നു ഞാൻ മിസ്റ്റർ മത്തായിയോടു ചോദിക്കുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. ജെ. മത്തായി: ഞാൻ പറയാം, അതിനു ഒരു ബോർഡുവെക്കണം.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. ആർ. ഇയ്യുണ്ണി: ഇൻഡ്യയിൽവെച്ചു ഏറ്റവും വലിയ ഒരു സ്ഥാപനമാണു് ഇൻഡ്യൻ നാഷനൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സു്. അതിൽ ഭിന്ന സമുദായങ്ങളിൽപെട്ട പല വലിയ മഹാന്മാരുമുണ്ടു്. ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ സ്ഥിതി നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഭിന്നമായിട്ടുള്ള പല സമുദായങ്ങളും കൂടിയാണു് നാം കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടുന്നതു്. ഇവിടത്തെ ഭിന്ന സമുദായങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ സൌഹാർദ്ദത്തോടുകൂടി കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടണമെങ്കിൽ അവർക്കു ഓരോരുത്തർക്കും കിട്ടേണ്ട ഉദ്യോഗവീതം കിട്ടണം. ഉദ്യോഗത്തിൽ അത്രക്കു മാനവും അന്തസ്സുമൊക്കെയുണ്ടു്. മട്ടാഞ്ചേരിയിൽ വളരെ പണക്കാരനായ ഒരു സേട്ടു ഉണ്ടെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുക, ധാരാളം പണമുള്ള അദ്ദേഹത്തെ മാനിക്കുന്നതും വളരെ ശമ്പളമുള്ള ഒരു ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനെ മാനിക്കുന്നതും തമ്മിൽ വ്യത്യാസമുണ്ടു്. ഇതൊക്കെ വളരെ കാര്യമായിട്ട ആലോചിക്കേണ്ട സംഗതികളാണു്. ഇതിൽ കാര്യമില്ലെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു് തോട്ടക്കാരുടെ പ്രതിനിധിയെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ആളുകളാണു്. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തെ നാനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളായി തിരിച്ചു് പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യ വ്യവസ്ഥ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. പിന്നെ എന്തിനാണു് തോട്ടക്കാർക്കു പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു ഒരു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലം വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്? അതുമാതിരി പല പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളും കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശം എന്താണെന്നുവെച്ചാൽ സമുദായങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ തമ്മിൽ സൌഹാർദ്ദമായി കഴിയുന്നതിനും സഹകരിക്കുന്നതിനുമുള്ള സൌകര്യം ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് ഉണ്ടാക്കി കൊടുക്കുകയെന്നതാണു്. അനവധികാലമായിട്ട ഇവിടെയുള്ള വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ എല്ലാംതന്നെ സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളാണു് വഹിച്ചുവരുന്നതു്. സ്ഥാനത്യാഗംചെയ്ത മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെകാലത്തു് അവിടന്നു അതിനു വലിയ ഒരു മാറ്റം വരുത്തി. ഉദ്യോഗത്തിൽ എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു അവിടന്നു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ

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വളരെ സൌമ്യമായും സൌഹാർദ്ദമായും പെരുമാറുന്നതിനു ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ചുറ്റുപാടുകളും നിശ്ചയങ്ങളുമൊക്കെ ആവശ്യമാണു്. അതു് ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് അംഗീകരിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞു.

സ്റ്റാഫ് സെലക്ഷൻ ബോർഡിന്റെ തത്വമനുസരിച്ചു് ഇവിടത്തെ ജനസംഖ്യാപ്രകാരം നോക്കിയാൽ, നായർക്കു് ൧൫ ൧൫ വീതം ഉദ്യോഗമെ കിട്ടാനുള്ളു. ബ്രാഹ്മണനു ഇപ്പോൾ ൪ ശ. മ. ഉണ്ടു്. അവർക്കു് ൧൫ ൭ മാത്രമേ കിട്ടാൻ അർഹതയുള്ളു. ഈഴവനു ൨൦ ശ. മ. ആണു് കിട്ടുന്നതു്. അവർക്കു ൨൪ ശ. മ. കിട്ടാനുണ്ടു്. ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കു ൨൫ ശ. മ. ത്തിൽ പില്ലാനം കിട്ടാനുണ്ടു്. അവർക്കു് ഇപ്പോൾ ൨൪ ശതമാനമെ കിട്ടുന്നുള്ളു. സമുദായങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ ഭിന്നതയുണ്ടാകുന്നതിനല്ല ഞാൻ ഇതു പറയുന്നതു്. വളരെ ഉയർന്ന ഗ്രേഡിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ വളരെ കുറച്ചെയുള്ളു. അതു് എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും തുല്യമായിട്ടു കിട്ടണം. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെനിലയ്ക്കു അതിനു എന്തെങ്കിലും ചട്ടങ്ങളില്ലാതെ കഴിയുകയില്ല. ഹൈക്കോട്ടിൽ ജഡ്ജിയുടെ ഒരുദ്യോഗം ഒഴിവു വന്നാൽ അതൊക്കെ വെട്ടിപങ്കിട്ടു ഓരോ സമുദായക്കാർക്കും പങ്കുവെക്കണമെന്നല്ല ഇതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം. ഈ തത്വം വിശദീകരിച്ചു അതനുസരിച്ചു നിയമനം നടത്തണമെന്നാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. ൧൦൦ കക്കു മേൽ ശമ്പളമുള്ള ധാരാളം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു് ന്യായമായി കിട്ടേണ്ട സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു കൊടുക്കണമെന്നുള്ളതാണു് ഇതിലെ പ്രധാന തത്വം. ഇത്രമാത്രമെ എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളു.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Mr. President, Sir, I will try to answer the resolution as it stands. The simple resolution is this.—

> "This Council recommends to the Government to give more effective recognition to the principle of communal Justice in appointments above the purview of the Staff Selection Board".

The hon'ble Mover of this resolution very cleverly stated that the Government, imagining the position taken up by it, perhaps may not take any very strong objection to the question of policy. I will say, speaking in the abstract, to a certain extent, Government must oppose the policy also. It was a very clever way of defending what was a vague resolution. That was a very clever diplomacy, especially when the resolution was not happily worded. What exactly does the resolution ask the Government to do? It wants a "more effective recognition" to the principle of communal justice in appointments in the higher grade. As the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi very aptly put it, it involves an assumption that already there is this recognition. Otherwise, the words "more effective" will not be there. Government do recognise that this principle of communal justice, if there are no other over-riding considerations, should also be kept in mind, when making the appointments. I presume that that recognition by the Government is not sought to be attacked. The only thing that is asked for is to give "*more effective*" recognition.

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Another point is, throughout the argument, we have not heard any definition of what is meant by the term "appointment". It is not because the term "appointment" is very difficult to define. I do not know whether by the word "appointment" the mover takes in promotions also, or whether he refers to initial appointments only. That is a vital point in this resolution. Are we to understand that this recommendation is sought to affect promotions also within the department ?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* It includes promotions also.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* It was all the while dark. Only towards the end the light came. But then, I did not yet hear whether this resolution is intended to affect promotions also, because, as was pointed out on a previous occasion by my predecessor in office, totally different considerations come into play in the case of promotions. Even in the case of higher appointments, am I to take it that the underlying principle governing appointments by Staff Selection Board ought to be applied ?

Mr. K. R. Viswambharam *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* They are only details.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Not details. It is the one question that we should drive at. By dividing appointments into two categories—appointments by promotion and initial appointments—I am attempting to show that totally different considerations come into play in the matter of promotions within a department. Promotions within a department are guided by certain wellknown rules of seniority and approved service. These things are found expressed in the rules. I ask, is it the invitation to the Government to disregard all those rules when it comes to promotion and concentrate themselves upon this principle of communal justice? I am only pointing out that totally different considerations come into play in the case of promotions. I am not attacking the recommendation on any other basis except that totally different considerations will have to be borne in mind by Government in making promotions. The principles which govern promotions are not the principles which govern initial appointments. I suppose there will be no difficulty to understand that. Let us take a concrete case, for instance. Is it the invitation to Government and is it the case, for instance, in department "A", if there is no Latin Christian Officer when it comes to promotion in the higher grade, that this principle of communal justice should be invoked, and for the first time to appoint a Latin Christian Officer there over the heads of the members of other communities there ? Should the claims of members of other communities who have legitimate right

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to be promoted, regard being had to seniority and efficiency be jeopardised ? I can quite understand the recommendation so far as the initial appointments are concerned. Suppose it becomes necessary for Government to appoint a candidate to a post carrying a salary of Rs. 400 and above and suppose there is no question of promotion, there I submit, entirely different sets of considerations come into play. I want only to emphasise that. To club together these two principles in the word "appointment" and thereby to make a kind of recommendation which is not specific or definite cannot advance your case.

Now, when the Staff Selection Board was constituted it was made very clear that the overriding principles so far as appointments in the higher grades are concerned would be the principle of efficiency. That was the understanding on which the Board was constituted. In paragraph 4 of the Government Proceedings it has been stated that in the higher division efficiency alone will be the sole criterion in the matter of appointments.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Is that the principle now followed ?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I was pointing out that to show that this principle of communal justice has not been accepted by Government in the way in which you interpreted it to mean, now so far as appoinments in the higher grades are concerned. I may state that despite this in cases where taking every other factor into consideration the Government can make an appointment from a community which is not very well represented in service, that is being done. But the restriction is there that recruitment to the higher division will be made by Government as before and will be either direct or by promotion from the lower division, or by selection on the basis of exceptional efficiency. Therefore, a clear distinction has been drawn between these two categories, namely, initial appointments and promotions. My submission is that in spite of the fact that Staff Selection Board recruitments to the lower services were granted subject to and conditional to that paragraph (4), as a matter of fact, Government in all possible cases and without violence to the well-known principles of appointment and regard being had to other considerations, do make appointments to redress communal inequalities in the services.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christains-Ernakulam):* One point, Sir. Do you mean to say that because appointments were made on communal considerations by the Staff Selection Board the efficiency of administration has in any way been impaired ?

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Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* That is beside the point. Why should you drag in the question of efficiency here?

Mr. M. L. Joseph *(Latin Christains-Cranganur):* Is there any method to measure efficiency?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I find the moment efficiency is introduced in this House, it is thought by a certain gentleman to be a reflection upon those who advocate communal representation. On the other hand there is absolutely nothing and Government did not say that the principle of efficiency should be applied in making higher appointments and to restrict those appointments to Caste Hindus.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* It is a flash of imagination, Sir.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* In the words of a great author "prejudice covers a higher number of sins than even imagination". I am only saying that Government had nothing interior in their mind when the principle of efficiency was dealt with.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* With the result that one community is benefited. Whether it is prejudice or whatever that may be, with the result that one community alone is benefited.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* We are not upon individual appointments about which you have referred a good deal here. Fortunately for me it does not arise out of the resolution. Had it been so, I could have commented upon various other individual appointments also. Even in communities which are stated to be not well represented it is possible to pick holes in individual appointments. I do not wish to adopt that tactics in respect of this resolution. I ignore all these personal reflections and confine myself to the broad principles. Government laid down a rule that appointments in services will be given to communities according to certain proportions, although it is not a photographical representation of the population of the State.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* Even there it is certain communities that are benefited.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* That was why I stated that although it was not actually a photographical representation of the population in the community, it, in fact, very much looks like that. Appointments according to communal principles —that is the rule. But when it comes to higher appointments, Government said we will be guided by the principles of efficiency and seniority. Don't mistake that.

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Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* Even if there is any mistake committed, it is to benefit certain communities.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* The point is this. Government have laid down that in the case of lower grade appointments they will hereafter be made with reference to the number of the population, but in the case of higher division appointments, for the very reason that they are higher division appointments, which, in the majority of cases, will have to be made by promotion they will not be guided by the rules of population. Moreover, these higher grade appointments are only few and far between and normally they are always made by promotion from lower divisions. After some time, this cry will not be heard, because, then the aspirants for promotion in the higher grade will be those who are now recruited by the Staff Selection Board in the lower grade. Therefore, there is nothing radically wrong by promoting persons in the service having long service and efficiency.

As matters now stand, recruitment to higher grades are very few. And as Mr. Kannan Nair, my predecessor, has once pointed out, there are only 7 or 8 appointments worth counting in an year. There I attempted to make out that the test laid down is efficiency. It does not affect any community at all. The principle itself is not wrong, because wrong appointments are made.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* If there are more cases of breach of the rule than the observance of the rule, then, such a principle, I may say is bad.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* A sound principle does not become unsound by the mere violation of it. A principle which is sound cannot become unsound because a man does not act up to that principle. The principle may be right. But you can still commit wrong. That is not the criterion here. The point is, was the Government right in saying that the higher divsion appointments must be made by looking at efficiency and assuming that to be right, then the further question is, should they not act up to it? Efficiency should be the criterion in higher appointments. This is itself *per se* correct, leave alone the other question whether wrong appointments are made. I want further to say that despite these considerations we have considerations of communal claims in promotions. Without flagrantly violating the principle of efficiency and other considerations, Government is in a position to give due recognition to the rights of communities not properly well represented in the services. Government are as a matter of fact trying to give recognition to that principle, even in higher division. That policy is still going on. I would only explain

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to the House that even though the rules are there, in cases where without injury to the prevailing or superweighing or overriding considerations of promotion—seniority, efficiency and other considerations—if only inequalities are to be redressed, Government are as a matter of fact applying its mind to that principle. The Hon'ble Member Mr. Ibrahim was pleased to withdraw a Bill which was brought by him before this House for the purpose of implementing this principle in the matter of higher appointments. The same position was explained to the House then. Mr. Ibrahim is not a person who will very easily withdraw a Bill, had he not himself been convinced with the explanation given by the Government.

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* The Bill was not withdrawn.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* It was withdrawn.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* The Bill was withdrawn on the definite assurance given by the Government at that time.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* If you want I shall read what assurance was given then. The same thing as I said now was given then by my predecessor—promotion is given by seniority. Mr. Kannan Nayar pointed out "if the statute wishes that all appointments should be made with respect to the proportion, then it will be very difficult for the Government to accept that principle. What I say is, generally promotion is given by seniority. Government take into consideration the question of communal justice also, etc....." That is, despite the fact that there is a rule that promotions to higher division will be given according to efficiency and seniority, Government sometimes consider the communal claims also as far as possible. The moment that assurance was given the hon'ble member withdrew it.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* I withdrew it because an assurance was given by the Government that communal justice will be one of the factors in making the appointments in the higher grade. Otherwise, I would have pressed it to a division. I would have fought for the principle inside the Council and outside. Because of that assurance, I withdrew that Bill.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Governmet):* I was only reiterating the Government position by saying that the position taken up by Government then is the position that we are taking now. The hon'ble member was stating that when an assurance was given the Bill was withdrawn. I say it is a mis-statement of the fact.

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Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* It is not a mis-statement of fact. What Mr. Kannan Nayar then said was that communal justice will be a salient feature that will be taken into consideration in making appointments in the higher grade. What does this mean?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* The word "salient feature" is there. In fact, Mr. Kannan Nayar never used the word "salient feature".

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* The Hon'ble Government Secretary should understand that I was not reading from the book.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I was only pointing out the mistake. The Government then said, if the Statute says that all appointments must be made in accordance with the principle of communal representation it will be difficult for the Government to accept that principle. What I say is generally promotion is by seniority. Government also take into consideration the question of communal justice at times overlooking the claims of other persons who are entitled to promotions. Therefore, Government are alive to the fact and Government are giving this consideration in making higher appointments. I am also saying that despite the rule in the Staff Selection Board, despite the fact that promotions are ordinarily governed by the rules of seniority, Government sometimes also take into consideration, other things being equal, the principle of communal justice. If the hon'ble members were satisfied at that time with the statement given by my predecessor in office, I do not see any reason why they are not satisfied at present. I am almost copying the position taken by Government then. It was not a resolution at that time. But a Bill which was withdrawn. I only want to emphasise that we are alive to this request. Therefore, it is not a case where Government are not alive to the principle; Government will act up to that principle regard being had to other considerations also. I do not think there is necessity for pressing this resolution, because we stick to the position which we took up in connection with that Bill.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Sir, I wish to contribute a few words on this rather thorny question of appointments.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I dont want to interrupt Mr. Salem. Hereafter, I will speak only in the last.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* We have got a right to speak after hearing the Government.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* If that be so, you cannot compel me to give my views before, so that you may criticise me later on.

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Deputy President: The practice here has been that after some members have spoken on either side, Government member can speak again.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I submit if it is that, it would have been fairer for him to speak first.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Government have always a right to speak again. However, I am not going to criticise you.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* There should be an end for this discussion. There is a limit to the patience of the hon'ble members.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Sir, this is a thorny question of the loaves and fishes of public offices. It is the privilege of this little Cochin State to be the most tolerant State perhaps in the world. I am proud to be a citizen of Cochin and to live under Sovereigns who were simple and who were well educated and whose only motto is honour. I very well can feel that on account of some misapprehensions, some of the people are jealous to see members who are intimately connected with the royal family being appointed in the higher places.

Mr. Deputy President: Don't bring the royal family into discussion.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I am not at all attacking the royal family. I only wish to make a statement. There may be cause for a little jealousy. Let us look into the facts. Most of the efficient people who have spent large amounts upon education, if we bar them because of their high connections, that will be an injustice to them. I was discussing this matter with the Hon'ble Diwan of Travancore and he said very nicely that the same is the case even in England. No one has heard of this kind of cry there. But if any person is debarred, because he belongs to a particular caste or minority or majority, or if any man is preferred because he comes from a minority or majority, that would be a wrong principle. Nobody should be shut out because he belongs to a particular community and nobody should be taken in, simply because he belongs to a particular community. That has been well pointed out. Efficient men, well trained men, well educated men, should be taken when applications come in. That is only justice. If when there are highly educated people you prefer somebody, because of personal considerations, then I say Government will be violating their own principles. Principles are all there and humanity in exercising principles sometimes makes the principles to serve their own selves. That is the case that exists everywhere. I have life's experiences in this State, for over 34 years as a lawyer. I belong to the most

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unrepresented community in the service. When I came here after my education, there was not a single Jew graduate in the whole of Cochin. And I did not care for an appointment. I never put in an application. I refused a nice offer made, because I preferred to have my liberty of speech and to act outside. It is because of the system of the servant-master Government that you all look to the official loaves and fishes. Even members of the political community who are able by their status, standing, position, possessions, have a craving for office. If there are other avenues opened to them, all these qualifications of theirs, (once I think I read an article in the *Sahodaran*) would take them and pin them to those avenues of life with much more emoluments than that of public offices. Looking at our seats here on the non-official benches, we have to admit that we cannot be compared to the official benches of today. In the official benches I see at least half-a-dozen members who have been trained in foreign lands. But on the non-official benches, perhaps I cannot see even one. Therefore I say, in this matter of offices we must look to your good sense, to the good sense of the Government, to the liberality of the Government, to the bonafides of the Government, to the sense of honour and truth and human consideration, and beyond that to fix it by the arithmetical proportion is certainly not worthwhile. Even if we do so, there will be methods to sum up all these arithmetical ratios. There will also be personal considerations. It has been laid down that children of officials sometimes should be preferred. That rule is existing. That rule will equally work against the unrepresented communities: later on, when they become represented if this rule is to be violated to set up the principle of ratio according to the arithmetic of population, then there will be another cry. Therefore these are matters which we must leave entirely to the discretion of the appointing power to their good consideration. Don't work against aspirants to offices. Naturally people from the population of a country when they come up in education they will clamour, for public service. There was a time when, as somebody remarked, all our officers were caste Hindus. But as population multiplied and more colleges were opened, other people also began to take to education. Don't you know what has taken place in British India? The Brahmins went into the colleges and learned, and captured all the offices. Then the Non-Brahmin movement came. Colleges were increased and Non-Brahmins took to education. They said that not a single Brahmin should be appointed for a certain number of years in the Judicial Department. They passed it. That is quite just. But even then what happened when the Congress Government came? Ten members were Brahmins. What do you say to that? After the acceptance of the principle, when the actual play of administration

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came, one particular community was found to be the most efficient. When it came to the application of goodwill, good sense and honour were all forgotten. I only request the Government to bear these discussions in mind and try to give the best satisfaction. Beyond that, I am not prepared to go. I cannot support this proportionate ratio proposition that has been tabled before this House.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Rural):* I wish to know from Mr. Devassy whether he has also taken into calculation the big amount that the Christians enjoy through the aided schools? I ask that because he was comparing the total emoluments drawn by the various communities from the public exchequer.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* That is not a question covered by this resolution.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Rural):* That is a question covered by this resolution, because there also it is public money that is distributed.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* You may take that also into consideration.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Mr. President, Sir, before I proceed to answer the several arguments advanced in this House against this resolution, I wish to complete the statstics given partly yesterday. I was under the impression that the resolution may not come up yesterday and therefore the figures I quoted were from the Christian memorial submitted to Government. But I thought there was a greater duty incumbent upon me to verify the details thoroughly and after going through the Civil List, by this time, I am in a position to place before this House the figures of appointments relating to various communities. The total number of appointments above Rs. 100, come to 239, out of which Nayars are enjoying 104, Brahmins, 47, Ezhuvas 15, Muslims 4, Other Hindus 12 and Christians 57.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. എ. രാമചന്ദ്രയ്യർ: ഇതിൽ ദേവസ്വം ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെണ്ടിലെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ കണക്കു പെടുമൊ?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* No.

The population ratio which I gave yesterday is perfectly correct. It would be found that the Nayar community which has a population of less than half the Christians enjoys 104 offices while Christians who are double the Nayars get but 57. Ezhuvas who are almost a little more than Nayars get 1/7th the number enjoyed by Nayars. Facts are more telling than words. And it is not necessary for me to wax eloquent over the necessity of meeting communal justice, when facts and figures so eloquently proclaim the appalling

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disparity maintained in this State in the matter of distributing offices on a communal principle.

Now Sir, I was rather surprised to hear from the Government Secretary in opposing my resolution, a feeble attempt to go back upon the position taken up by Government on previous occasions. Let not the Government Secretary be under the impression that this resolution was framed by me without knowing what exactly the position of the Government is. If there is any attempt on the part of the present Government to go back upon an accepted policy, we are not prepared to leave you so easily. I was wondering, Sir, how when the Diwan of Cochin delivering the budget speech from this very House said that communal representation is the cardinal article of his political faith and that he is only proud of the Government having accepted that principle, the Government Secretary today could dare to make a statement that the Government has not accepted communal representation as a principle or a policy in the matter of appointment. Again Sir, when Mr. V. K. Krishnan Kutty, in the first session of this Council, moved a resolution requesting the Government to accept communal justice in higher cadres, this Government gave an assurance that they are prepared to maintain communal justice in the higher grades. How on earth could the Secretary to Government go back upon this assurance and say that they have not accepted this principle? No, Sir. You have accepted that position and we pin you to that position.

Now my attempt is to clear the misunderstanding of my friend Mr. Moothedan. Mr. Moothedan seems to think that the word "recognition" that I have incorporated in this resolution is a recognition in fact. No. I say a recognition in paper, a recognition in word is a recognition. And the recognition that exists is a recognition on paper.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* What is the use of mere recognition in paper? We want recognition in fact.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Yes. That is why I say it is not enough that you should have a recognition in paper. You should have a recognition in fact. You should act upon the recognition and therefore I move for a more effective recognition of the principle of communal justice in appointments beyond the purview of the Staff Selection Board.

Sir, various arguments have been advanced opposing the principle of communal representation. There is one great relief for me, *i.e.*, those arguments have not come from any unexpected quarters except probably from the Secretary to Government. I was expecting from which persons there will be opposition to this

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resolution. And I am not at all surprised or disappointed in that. I am only maintaining that they have done more than due justice to the time-old anti-diluvian arguments which they have been consistently advancing in this House several times. My Hon'ble Friend, Mr. Mathai, was saying that if all the judges in the High Court were Ayyakkutties, he would like them all to be Ezhuvas, if all the Judges were C. V. Antonys, he would like them to be Christians and so on and so forth. In other words, he was maintaining that there is absolutely no difference between the justice meted out by the member of the Nayar community or the Christian community and therefore you cannot cry for communal representation. He has naturally missed the point. There is no question here that a Nayar judge cannot mete out justice or that a Christian can only mete out justice. Not at all. The only point is that there should be a recognition of the principle that a Christian can mete out as much justice as a Nayar can, placed in the same position. I hope my hon'ble friend is following the argument.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Yes.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* A Christian appointed as a Judge can mete out the same justice as a Nayar appointed as a Judge.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Provided they are just.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Therefore I say that there are people who are efficient in all communities, given the chance of exercising their power and proving their efficiency. Therefore I say that Government service is not a rubber estate where the trees are all of the same type. *(Laughter).* It is an equitable estate where you should get a fair representation of efficient people from several communities.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Nor is it a museum. *(Laughter.)*

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Jews-Nominated):* On a point of information, Sir, in that sense are you in favour of abolition of the rule that there should be a Christian Judge in the High Court?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I will come to that point by and by. I have a right to postpone my reply to the several questions put without losing the trend of the argument.

Sir, Mr. Mathai is naturally mistaken in thinking that there is a plea put forward on the floor of this House that any inefficient member from any community should be appointed. No. Never has a case been put forward here that even if an Ezhuva has no educational qualifications, even if he is inefficient, simply because he belongs to the Ezhuva community you should elevate him to the

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position of a Government servant. No man will ever favour that argument, and if my friend thinks that anybody has ever forwarded that argument I would request him to clear that misunderstanding. We maintain that efficient members of the several communities with sufficient qualifications should be given chances to enter Government service. My friend thinks that after all communal distinction is so uncanny, so disquieting that we cannot possibly think of it, we can only think in terms of men and women! Never in terms of communities! It may be so when the world develops into a state of affairs when it would be a heaven. It may be so when those highest ideals of which we are incapable in this world come into existence. I wish that Mr. Mathai represents a certain constituency then. Sir, you cannot think of forgetting communal differences as long as caste and social distinctions remain as they are here. The simple point is that social differences that exist in this part of India have so developed a mentality in the country that no one can possibly be free from social and communal influences. Not only that, social differences are such that they are even given a religious sanctity, that it is impossible for people to think in terms of anything other than community. The only way is that you can minimise the sharpness of the communal weapon as far as possible. That is a good ideal. But it will be a folly, it will be a travesty of truth to say that we are in a position to forget communal differences. As long as these class and communal distinctions exist they should have naturally their reflections in politics and in public service. What is the state of affairs here, Sir, now? As I pointed out, certain communities have got such an overwhelming over-representation in Government service that others are nowhere when compared to them. What is the result? The result is that the key positions of Government are today monopolised by certain communities with no justification whatsoever. The result is that other communities think that for reasons, good or bad, their legitimate rights have not been respected.

Then, Sir, my friend Mr. Mathai was saying that if you are prepared to accept all the heavenly ideals which he is visualising, then the only argument upon which you can build up a case of communal representation is the procreation of children. I am not going to ignore that point. I am not going to leave it alone, because it has an air of vulgarity about it. I maintain, Sir, that population, that procreation of children in a country, has great importance. I maintain, Sir, that the number of population in a country has much to do with the status and the strength of that country. I maintain, Sir, that the Ruler who poses himself as a Ruler of a particular state has no name or reputation except in relation to the number of people over whom is ruling. I maintain, Sir, that the relationship of the

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Ruler and subject cannot exist unless you can think in terms of the several historical reasons by which some people have come to rule over others. Therefore, my Hon'ble friend Mr. Mathai will do well to think twice before he finds fault with those people who are very vigilant in procreation. My friend may take it that those who are vigilant in increasing the population is doing a positive service to the State by enhancing the strength of the State and the prestige of the Ruler.

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Jews-Nominated):* Question.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Sir, it is unnecessary for me, therefore, to go further minutely into the details of this question. The Government have accepted the policy on the floor of this House, but we find that that policy has not been acted upon. If it has been sufficiently acted upon, Sir, then I cannot think of some instances which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Pylee has brought before this House. I ask you, Sir, how could you possibly appoint any member from over-represented communities today when you find that these appalling differences have to be removed and the balance maintained? How could you go further and fill up the vacancies of unrepresented communities by members from over-represented communities? Are you, Sir, bold enough to assert that these appointments are made on the ground of efficiency alone? I would challenge the statement. I would say that even in the same community, Sir, from which you have made appointments, you have gone against this principle of efficiency. I maintain, Sir, that if you place your finger on your heart and examine your conscience you will find numberless instances of appointments made by favouritism irrespective of the fact that there are more deserving candidates even in the same community who ought to have been appointed. Sir, efficiency is as elastic as rubber. We know its quality and we know the purpose for which the efficiency argument has been imported into several countries from quarters which are interested and by Governments which are siding with such quarters. Sir, I ask you, have you not forward the same argument of efficiency before the S. S. Board was constituted? Have you not fought from the same plank against the proposal for S. S. Board? Where have they vanished now? I am not for a moment saying, Sir, that the appointments in higher cadres should be so meticulously or mathematically arranged as in the S. S. Board That is why I have adopted the word "communal justice" instead of proportional representation for this purpose. That is why I was bold enough to think that the Government has accepted the pinciple of communal justice. My hon'ble friend from the Treasury bench argues, Sir, that promotions can be made only in the order of seniority, or at

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times, if it becomes so necessary, in the order of efficiency. Sir, I ask you a simple question. Have there not been cases where, on the principle of communal justice alone, officers have been promoted on communal planks overlooking the seniority of others? What about the appointment of Mr. K. S. Raghavan? Is it not a promotion given on communal plank? What about the appointment of Mr. Fakkruddin Shah? Was not that promotion given on communal plank? Are you going to maintain that Mr. Fakkruddin Shah is a more efficient judicial officer than his seniors?

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Why do you drag in the name of a judicial officer?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I maintain that Mr. Fakkruddin is not more efficient than his senior judicial officers. I say that Mr. Fakkruddin Shah was rightly promoted on communal plank and I therefore maintain that promotions in the higher grades are not solely guided either by seniority or efficiency, but also by communal considerations.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Therefore the Government is acting upon that principle?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I say Government should act more upon that principle. I say that it should be made a reality, and not a simple word or a fancy imagination.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* To appoint a junior man over the heads of seniors is right?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* To promote a junior from an unrepresented community, if he is sufficiently able, over others who have come from over-represented communities is simple justice, because those who have come from over-represented communities have no right to be there.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* We can agree to differ.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Sir, I have completed. I think I have answered the several arguments advanced on the floor of this House. I want to point out one or two important and salient features which came up in connection with this resolution. There is a saying, Sir, that the old blind grand-father who knows nothing in this world, who cannot see anything in this world, will automatically or unmistakingly put his hand in the jaggery pot. As a matter of fact people who have absolutely no communal considerations, people who think they are honest, somehow or other, such blind men put their hands in the jaggery pot. *(Laughter).* I hope nobody can quarrel with me on that point. I have absolutely no ill-feeling against any member of the Treasury Bench or any member of the Government. The facts are such. The circumstances are such. Communal affections are

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such. Traditions of community which are inborn and which live with you are such that naturally, wherever possible, your intelligence and your hand unconsciously travel along communal lines. It is not the case that a particular man is bad. It is not the case that he is bent upon doing injustice. Nothing of the sort. That natural craving to think along the lines of the community in which he was born, that natural craving to encourage his community which has also encouraged him, drives his hand along that way and finally makes him do that mischief. The result is communal disparity, forgetfulness of efficiency and undue benefit to people of over-represented communities. I do not want to cite here instances of people. It will be unnessary. I leave it to the good sense of the House to examine whether the statements which I have made before this House are not borne out by facts, if you examine the administration of the State for the last several years. There is the system now followed that employees in certain departments to which admission is given to Caste Hindus only are brought through the back door and given entrance into the real public service by overlooking the claims of others. That is a very important aspect. I shall site clear instances even in the lower ranks where officers of the Nayar Brigade to which no other community than Nayars have admission have been drafted to the Police Department with the result that members of other communities suffer. Thus the door to the members of other communities is closed. In the Nayar Brigade only Nayars can be appointed. If some fifty people from the Nayar Brigade are taken to the Police Department then fifty doors to the other communities are automatically closed and the Nayar Brigade is safe for Nayars still. How can you maintain communal justice? Even with the best bonafides that you are prepared to mete out communal justice, if these methods are followed, how is it possible at any time in the world to maintain communal justice? Similar instances you will find in the case of Devaswam Department where admission is restricted to certain communities. People are drawn from there to executive line in other departments along the dubious paths, with the result that doors to the other communities are closed and those among the Caste Hindus through spiral paths rise up into dizzy heights leaving the unfortunate untouchables earth earthy! I am submitting these to the House and the Government with the best of intentions and with the best of hopes that our Government must maintain a name which is above suspicion. Nothing is a higher quality, a higher virtue for a Government than that Government is above suspicion. I hope that in these matters which affect the confidence of a large number of the population of the State Government should be anxious to see that that great virtue is

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maintained and that it is elevated to a level above suspicion. I do it as the best friend, the very best well-wisher of the Government. I have nothing more to add.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* One word of explanation, Sir. A terrible charge was levelled against me that the present Secretary to Government have resiled from the former position and made a reference to the budget speech of the then Hon'ble President.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I think that speech was delivered last year or year before last. Then he said that communal principle is the cardinal principle of his political faith.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Unfortunately, I have the date of his speech. That speech was delivered on the 18th July 1939 and my predecessor in office Mr. Kannan Nayar's speech which I read out word by word was dated 7th December 1939.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Your statement that you are giving out the same argument advanced by Mr. Kannan Nayar has no force at all.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* The Diwan's speech was dated 18th July 1939 and the very same Government took up the position which I am now taking. I am only asking about that terrible charge that the present Government has resiled from the position taken up by the previous Government. What was stated by the present Government was what was stated by past Government.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Government is the same in the past and in the present. Persons may change, but the Government does not change.

Deputy President: What is the present position of the Government? Let us clearly understand it.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* The same position taken up by Government that communal consideration is not one of the important considerations in the appointments in the higher cadres.

Deputy President: You may explain it.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Am I to take that what I said has not been understood?

Deputy President: It is so.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* There was no complaint like that at all. They did not complain that.

I will repeat my speech if my hon'ble friend wants. I said that this resolution has to be viewed in two lights. First, appointments

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by way of promotions and then, appointments by initial recruitments. In the case of appointments by promotions, naturally other sets of considerations than the communal considerations come into play. But when it comes to initial recruitments, as I explained already, it may be possible to accept the principle of communal consideration. But there are definite rules laid down with reference to promotions that it is only regard being had to other considerations as efficiency, seniority, etc., that promotions should be made. But in the matter of initial recruitments within the purview of the Staff Selection Board, the principle has already been accepted by Government and is being acted upon. Despite the fact that in the case of higher division appointments they should be governed normally by the test of efficiency, Government were making appointments regard being had to communal considerations also. Therefore the position remains the same as the one taken up by my predecessor.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* Is there a rule that in particular cases communal considerations may also be looked into?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Again a request for information.

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Jews-nominated):* What about my question, Sir?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* May I know what the question is. I have forgotten.

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Jews-nominated):* Are you in favour of abolishing the rule of Christian Judge in the High Court?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* The whole difficulty is Government does not act according to our consultations. When consultations come from the Treasury Bench I may give my view.

Sir, I press the motion to a division.

Motion put and lost, 11 for and 18 against.

RESOLUTION No. 6—*(cont.)*

Giving the benefit of instalment payment before decree to secured debts

Mr. Puthur Achyuta Menon *(Kattur):* Sir,—The resolution standing in my name is.—"*This Council recommends to the Government that the Cochin Civil Procedure Code should be so amended as to give the benefit of instalment payment before decree to secured debts also.*"

In commending this resolution to the unanimous acceptance of this House, I do not propose to make a lengthy speech at this late hour of the day. Sir, it is with the full hope our Government

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